

ROCHESTER HISTORY

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Vol. VII

APRIL, 1945

No. 2

Susan B. Anthony

By BLAKE McKELVEY

The celebration of Susan B. Anthony's birthday, long since an annual event among Rochester clubwomen, has attracted wider community observance this year. Not only is February 15, 1945, the 125th birthday of the city's most famous woman citizen, but this year likewise marks the 100th anniversary of her arrival in Rochester. The long hard battle for woman's rights and woman suffrage officially ended with the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920, but the social revolution for which Miss Anthony fought — the equality of the sexes before the law and in community affairs — has never been so fully realized as in these crucial year of the Second World War. The contributions women are making to the war effort — in industry, in volunteer activities, and in the armed services—more than vindicate the intrepid crusader of a generation ago, while the part women played in the election of November, 1944, casting for the first time a major portion if not a majority of the votes, demonstrates the essential equality of the sexes in modern America.

Several volumes have been written about this great American—one of the few Rochesterians to gain that distinction—and it is doubtful whether a new attempt to write a full length biography will ever be justified. The advantages enjoyed by Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, the official biographer whose work will be noted at greater length below, cannot again be duplicated. Her narrative account in three fat volumes of Miss Anthony's almost unending campaigns provides an excellent record of that distinguished career. The only point at which we can

ROCHESTER HISTORY, published quarterly by the Rochester Public Library, distributed free at the Library, by mail 25 cents per year. Address correspondence to the City Historian, Rochester Public Library, 115 South Avenue, Rochester 4, N.Y.

hope to add to the fascinating story is by a more intensive study of the Rochester from which her campaigns were launched and to which she returned for rest and recuperation as the tide of battle permitted. It does seem appropriate, therefore, in this centennial of her coming to Rochester, that an account be written of her home life, her local friends and associations, and her contributions to the development of this city.

The Anthony Farmstead

Susan B. Anthony was a young woman of twenty-five when in 1845 her father moved his family to Rochester. His savings from several prosperous years in a factory at Battenville, north of Troy, had been wiped out by the depression; his standing as the leading Quaker and most enterprising business man in Battenkill Valley had been lost; but the sturdy independence that characterized all members of the Anthony family had, if anything, been strengthened and hardened during the five-year struggle that ended with the removal to Rochester. Daniel Anthony was in no sense a defeated man, turning back to his farm origins; he was following the beaten trail west, but his destination was a thriving city where Hicksite Friends with whom he was acquainted were already established, and where larger opportunities and richer associations beckoned.

The entire family was ready for new ventures. Already two of the girls had been married—Guelma the eldest to Aaron McLean and Hannah to Eugene Mosher, young and promising merchants in the area. The older boy, Daniel R., was on his own as a clerk in a neighboring village. Susan, the second daughter, had successfully demonstrated her ability to support herself as a school teacher with several years experience in scattered towns. An amusing dream that she was to wed a Presbyterian divine whom she had never met was now forgotten, and in her eagerness to accompany the family to Rochester she turned down an earnest offer of marriage by a Quaker elder, a rich farmer from Vermont. Besides, she added in a burst of independence, she did not want to be married. She was to repeat this opinion to several later suitors, often enough, apparently, to accept it as a conviction; and Miss Anthony was to become famed for her staunch convictions.

When the Anthony family, aboard a canal boat laden with their

farm and household equipment, reached Rochester on November 14, 1845, economy dictated that the wagon be taken from the top of the boat and the faithful horse hitched for the three-mile journey to the new farm home west of the city. Susan and her younger sister Mary and brother Merritt must have looked about with keen interest as they drove with their parents out Buffalo (West Main) Street. Leaving the hotels and stores behind, they crossed two canal bridges, passed several large and many small residences scattered along the tree-lined avenue, passed the old cemetery grove, until finally the old horse paused for a drink at the water trough in front of Bull's Head tavern. But Daniel's strict temperance convictions did not permit him to enter, and they soon proceeded along more sparsely settled roads until their new home loomed up before them against the twilight sky.

Susan and Mary, making their beds in blankets on the floor that night, may have had some doubts concerning the new home, but the next day the family's spirits must have revived. From the house, standing atop a gentle elevation (near the intersection of the present Brooks Avenue and Genesee Park Boulevard), one could look east towards the curving Genesee. City church steeples could be seen in the distance beyond gently rolling fields. Several score of fruit trees contributed a settled appearance to the thirty-two-acre farm with its barn and smithy behind the Greek Revival farm house. An early visit from the De Garmos, the nearest neighbors—Hicksite Friends and staunch temperance folk—gave assurance of friendly associations.

The first months were uncertain ones for the Anthony family. New experiences challenged fresh decisions on old questions. Daniel, considerate for his music-loving wife and his lively daughters, had long felt discontented with the restraints enforced by conservative Quakers. In Rochester he soon found other Hicksite Friends of the same mind—men and women who were less interested in the preservation of old customs than they were in spreading the gospel of temperance. The De Garmos, Isaac and Amy Post, William and Mary Hallowell, Samuel and Susan Porter, and their own young cousin Sarah Anthony Burtis with her husband Louis, were Friends of this character. Curiously enough, several of them had already been attracted away from Friends Meeting by the warm and enlightened fellowship of the Unitarian Church where the Rev. F. W. Holland was pastor. Susan had considered the doctrine of this liberal denomination a few years before when

arguing with Miss Abigail Mott, a friend turned Unitarian and abolitionist, and now with her father she was ready for a new church affiliation.

But before the new Rochester associations had a chance to ripen, Susan received and accepted an attractive invitation to take charge of the female department of Canajoharie Academy. The four months in Rochester had shaken some old customs, and, with a good income at Canajoharie, she quickly developed a taste for quite un-Quakerly hats and shawls. She could not resist an invitation to a military ball, although the experience confirmed two earlier aversions, for her diary declares: "I certainly shall not attend another unless I can have a total abstinence man to accompany me, and not one whose highest delight is to make a fool of himself." Indeed it was her father's favorite cause, temperance, that provided the occasion for her first appearance on a public platform. The applause stimulated by her address before the 200 Daughters of Temperance gathered at Canajoharie in 1849 matched the local enthusiasm for her teaching, but Miss Anthony was becoming "weary of well doing" in one place. Her restless spirits were stirred by news of the California gold rush, prompting a diary entry: "Oh, if I were but a man so that I could go!"

The Susan B. Anthony who journeyed home to Rochester in the autumn of 1849 was strikingly different from the Quaker lass who had landed here four years before. She had tested her powers and found them adequate. Without knowing exactly what she wished to do, she nevertheless felt confident of her ability to face any task life might present. She would not look up to any man for support or guidance.

Rochester in the 1850's proved to be a congenial home for a woman of independent temperament. During Susan's absence an adjourned session of the first Woman's Rights Convention at Seneca Falls had convened at the Unitarian Church in Rochester, August 2, 1848. Her father, mother, and sister Mary had attended; her cousin, Mrs. Sarah Anthony Burtis, had served as acting secretary; and several other Rochester friends had taken part. Susan was inclined to deprecate such efforts to defend women's rights, believing that women lacked only the spunk necessary to a full use of their talents. She rejoiced, nevertheless, to find her Rochester friends busily engaged in temperance and other reform agitation and soon plunged wholeheartedly into their activities.

The Unitarian Church, which was to supply her most significant local associations for the remainder of a long life, was facing temporary difficulties over the choice of a new pastor. Holland had been called to Boston as General Secretary of the American Unitarian Association, and none of the supplies or one-year pastors who succeeded him quite filled his place. Perhaps the very lack of a strong shepherd gave Miss Anthony the responsibility she needed. The Anthony farmstead became a favorite Mecca on Sunday afternoons for the liberal-spirited men and women of Rochester. There, might be found the De Garmos, the Posts, the Hallowells, the Willises, and more occasionally the Porters or the Wilders—most of them old Quakers turned Unitarian. Theological arguments engendered less interest than social reforms. A frequent visitor in these years was Frederick Douglass who had recently chosen Rochester as the home for his *North Star*, staunch advocate of freedom for his brothers in slavery. Distinguished visitors from out of town were frequently welcomed at these gatherings.

Home responsibilities were willingly shouldered by Miss Anthony at this period. Mary, now a teacher in a public school on the other side of the city, could no longer carry the burden of housework for the invalid mother, and Susan enjoyed the opportunity to display her proficiency as a cook, taking especial delight in her Sunday dinners for guests from the city. Her father, whose business talents had won him a regional agency with the New York Life Insurance Company, was frequently absent for weeks at a time, leaving the supervision of the farm to Susan. A medical certificate filed in application for an insurance policy, and signed by Dr. Edward Mott Moore, affords interesting evidence of Miss Anthony's healthy character at this period: "Height, 5 ft. 5 in.; figure, full; chest measure, 38 in.; weight, 156 lbs.; complexion, fair; habits, healthy and active; nervous affections, none; character of respiration, clear, resonant, murmur perfect; heart, normal in rhythm and valvular sound; pulse 66 per minute; disease, none. The life is a very good one." One is not surprised to see such a woman assuming more and more of the functions of the man about the house and in family affairs generally.

Fortunately these activities allowed Miss Anthony considerable freedom. The drive into the city became almost a daily occurrence, and more distant trips were not uncommon. February 24, 1851, found her serving as president of a local Daughters of Temperance festival.

In April of that year she helped sponsor an anti-slavery convention at the Unitarian Church to hear addresses by the fiery couple, Stephen and Abby Kelley Foster. A similar gathering at Syracuse a month later afforded an opportunity to meet Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Mrs. Amelia Bloomer of whom she had heard so much since 1848. The latter's new costume, with baggy pantaloons appearing in plain view below skirts cut off at the knees, struck Miss Anthony as a bit incongruous if not immodest, but she was willing to reserve judgment on the broader subject of an open agitation for woman's rights.

It did not take many months for Miss Anthony to make up her mind. When in January, 1852, the Rochester Daughters of Temperance named her as delegate to a state convention called at Albany by the Sons of Temperance, the stage was set for her final conversion. The Sons of Temperance had taken the liberal view that women's activities in their behalf should be encouraged. The Daughters were accordingly granted seats on the convention floor, but when Miss Anthony rose to speak on a question in debate, the chairman interrupted to announce that the ladies had been invited to listen and learn. Susan B. Anthony could not take such advice sitting down, and with a few indignant comrades she bolted the convention. Plans were laid for the organization of a Woman's State Temperance Society, and a call was issued for a convention to meet several weeks later at Rochester.

The organization of the Rochester convention of April 20-21, 1852, gave full range to the talents that were to shape Miss Anthony's career during the next half century. Corinthian Hall, the best in the city, was engaged, and Mrs. Stanton was urged to serve as president. Hundreds of letters were penned at the farmstead, inviting delegates from all sections of the state. Notices were sent to city and village papers, and preparations were made for the entertainment of visitors. The first session brought out an attendance of nearly 500 women. Mrs. Stanton among others delivered strong addresses, but most of the six busy sessions were devoted to a lively discussion of resolutions introduced by Mrs. Bloomer, Miss Antoinette Brown, and Mrs. Rhoda De Garmo. Thus the first woman's state temperance society was successfully launched. Miss Anthony, the society's secretary and most active organizer, was soon designated state agent and charged with the task of canvassing the women of the state for petitions urging the adoption of a Maine Law at Albany.

Characteristically, Mrs. Stanton had startled many delegates and editors near and far by her bold declaration that married women had a right to protect themselves and their children from drunken husbands through divorce. Miss Brown had scandalized many pious church folk by appearing as a licensed preacher. Mrs. Bloomer had unwittingly given her name to a costume that afforded humor to scornful observers. Miss Anthony found herself drawn more and more into the defense of her friends and of the rights of her sex generally. Despite their contributions to the cause, women were persistently denied a voice at the regular temperance conventions dominated by men unwilling to have their campaigns saddled with the odium of the woman's rights cause. Many of the women who earnestly strove to carry on an independent campaign were opposed to the radical views of Mrs. Stanton on divorce. When the Woman's State Temperance Society met at Rochester for its annual convention in June, 1853, the moderates refused to re-elect Mrs. Stanton as president, and Miss Anthony loyally declined to serve as secretary.

Miss Anthony could not take a half-way stand on woman's rights. In the midst of her temperance campaign during the fall of 1852, she found time to attend a Woman's Rights Convention at Syracuse, serving as secretary and making new friends among the delegates, many of them from neighboring states. With much reluctance she finally donned the Bloomer garb while on a trip east that December; she cut her hair short at the neck, but insisted on skirts a few inches longer than those of Mrs. Bloomer. By April, 1853, she was back in Rochester serving as secretary at a meeting of local "seamstresses" and helping to draft a code of fair wages for the working girls of the city. August found her standing resolutely for half an hour, unmindful of the frowns of many of the delegates assembled in Corinthian Hall, until the State Teachers Convention voted to grant women teachers a voice in their deliberations. Finally in December, 1853, she took the initiative in calling and organizing a Woman's Rights Convention at Rochester.

Several of the broader implications of the movement first came into view on this occasion. The property rights of women, their rights as protectors of their children, the rights of children themselves, the unmarried mother's rights against her seducer, the rights of women workers, and the crying need for legislation in all of these fields received

lengthy consideration. A strong new ally had appeared in Rochester, the Rev. William H. Channing, whose eloquent transcendentalism was reviving the spirits of the Unitarian congregation. The Hallowells, the Posts, the Porters, the De Garmos, and many others rallied to the cause. Petitions were circulated from house to house in several parts of the state, but nowhere so energetically as at Rochester. Miss Anthony's friends gathered most of the 6,000 names presented at Albany the next February in behalf of new safeguards for women's property rights.

The mid-fifties brought a rapid enlargement of Miss Anthony's field of service. No longer would she spend the major portion of each year at home, content with an occasional convention journey. Instead she was to spend most of the next forty, almost fifty, years on the road, often lecturing in a different town on many successive nights, and making but rare visits home. During the late fifties her trips were still confined largely to the Northeast, and she managed to spend a month or so each year on the farm where the development of the orchard continued to hold her interest. One season she set out \$100 worth of strawberry plants, hoping to demonstrate that a farmer's wife could, with a little care, develop a garden specialty that would assure her an independent income. Unfortunately, although considerable effort was devoted to the venture, Miss Anthony was called away by a series of conventions in the late fall, and the untended plants were soon frozen out. On another occasion, when a crop of peas was absorbing her attention, a group of distinguished visitors found her in the garden and, she confided to her diary, hoopless! (The bloomer garb had been discarded early in 1854.)

Yet these Rochester visits were not mere resting spells. If her schedule permitted a stop of a week or two, Miss Anthony was sure to have a convention going before the visit was half over. The departure of her friend, Dr. Channing, in 1854 left the Unitarian Church again without a pastor, and when the building itself was destroyed by fire in 1859 Miss Anthony made an attempt to establish a Free Church in Rochester. The brilliant Parker Pillsbury was brought to the city to preach in Corinthian Hall on four consecutive Sundays that year; Antoinette Brown, recently married to Samuel C. Blackwell but still preaching on occasion, was engaged to carry on for another month; but again the woman's cause beckoned, and in Miss Anthony's absence the project

folded. An exciting murder case in 1858 spurred her to call a protest meeting, but the 2,000 citizens who packed Corinthian Hall refused to hear her pleas against the use of capital punishment.

Still another cause was claiming her attention in the late fifties. Sympathy for the slave was an inheritance from her father, but Miss Anthony did not plunge wholeheartedly into the movement until 1856 when letters from her brother Merritt in Kansas provided the emotional incentive. By the next year she was chief up-state agent for the American Anti-Slavery Society, working hand in hand with Frederick Douglass, William Lloyd Garrison and other abolitionists. National leaders in the movement were brought to Rochester to speak at Corinthian Hall. Indeed, Miss Anthony assumed full responsibility for arranging annual lecture programs, not only in Rochester but in many up-state towns and cities, for these radical speakers who were not then welcome on the regular lyceum platforms. When in 1859 John Brown's tragic demonstration was about to be closed, Miss Anthony joined with Samuel D. Porter among others in calling a meeting to protest his execution, though only 300 citizens ventured to attend. A year later she supported the Lincoln campaign, and when the war came she helped organize a series of abolition conventions, starting in Rochester, with the object of forcing the President to indorse that cause.

Yet the first year of the war brought doubts and uncertainties to this one-time Quakeress. Several months in the spring and summer of 1861 were spent at home, managing the farm and reading. Buckle's *History of Civilization*, Darwin's *Origin of Species*, George Eliot's *Adam Bede*—she resolved not to read any more novels, they were too upsetting. Finally the urge came to renew the campaign for emancipation. Soon she was on the road again, not to return except for brief visits until just before the death of her father in November, 1862. Then for the first time she realized how much she had secretly depended on a man, how much zeal and stamina she had derived from her father's encouraging sympathy and understanding. The Rev. Samuel J. May journeyed over from Syracuse to conduct the funeral at which Frederick Douglass and most of her Rochester friends gathered in a devoted little band to help the Anthonys make their first journey to Mount Hope cemetery.

Mid Years

The death of her father loosened for a time Miss Anthony's ties to the home in Rochester. The farm itself was sold a few years later as Mary and her mother moved into the city, at first to North Street, and then permanently to No. 17 Madison Street. Susan's national responsibilities were multiplying, and for several years the Women's Loyal League and then her equal-suffrage weekly, *The Revolution*, required that she spend all of her time, when not actually attending one of the perennial conventions, in New York City. A visit to Rochester in December, 1866, was scarcely longer than necessary to attend an equal rights convention, one of a score she was staging throughout the state. A similar errand brought her back a year later for a few days. Indeed Rochesterians saw so little of Miss Anthony at this period that the editor of the *Union and Advertiser*, never her most sympathetic observer, reprinted a candid-camera description under the heading "Susan B."

Susan is a very positive looking girl of about 45; is of medium height and size, but inclined to be rather masculine in build, has keen grey eyes, well open and full of fire, blond complexion and brown hair, a very large and crescent shaped mouth, . . . has rich firm lips, a full set of beautiful teeth, is inclined to stoop in the shoulders, has a prominent brow, a well cut nose, is apparently in the best of health, and generally impresses the beholder as a woman of extraordinary capabilities and traits. Susan has evidently strong passions, a vigorous intellect, ungovernable prejudices, is a victim of singularities and freaks, has no small amount of arrogance and pride, is aristocratically inclined despite her democratic views, and in a word is not that "harmless, amiable and fascinating creature" which a physiognomist would recommend any feeble or innocent disposed man to wed.

Miss Anthony was much better known and more favorably received at this time in Leavenworth, Kansas, where her brother, Daniel, was mayor and where she spent many months hopefully campaigning for a woman's rights clause in the state constitution. The range of her activities now extended from coast to coast, speaking against inclusion of the term "male" in the Fourteenth Amendment, for the enfranchisement of women as well as Negroes under the Fifteenth Amendment, or for an equal rights clause in state constitutions, but only in the terri-

tories of Wyoming and Utah were minor successes registered. Yet her indomitable will never quavered.

Rochester was destined to see more of Miss Anthony in 1872 and 1873 than for a long time. Arriving for a brief visit early in 'seventy-two, she was invited to the Isaac Post home to meet several old friends who presented her with a \$50 check, a practical token of their loyalty. She was back again in September for more serious business. The theory that women had a right to vote as "persons" under the Fourteenth Amendment and as "citizens" under the Fifteenth, had been soberly proposed by national leaders. For a few weeks after the Democrats had nominated Horace Greely, the Republican strategists were almost ready to indorse the woman's cause as their last hope. Greely's chances began to fade, however, before that action was taken, yet Miss Anthony was invited to stage a series of Republican rallies backed by \$1,000 from the party treasury. She accepted with the understanding that women would be free to stress woman suffrage in their speeches, and the first rally was held in Rochester where her personal friend, Mayor Carter Wilder, presided. Large crowds gathered in Rochester and in other parts of the crucial Empire State, but before the series was finished it became apparent to Miss Anthony that the Republican leaders did not really intend to indorse her cause.

Returning to Rochester for rest and recuperation she was suddenly galvanized into action on November 1st by a notice in the *Democrat* urging all citizens to register. Throwing aside the paper, she called her sisters Mary and Hannah to her aid. With their bonnets perched at a determined angle they set forth to the polls. It was but a short step down Madison Street to the eighth ward polling place in a shoe shop* on the corner of West Avenue (now West Main) and Prospect Street. The three young election inspectors in charge were startled and disconcerted by these unexpected applicants for registration. One suggested feebly that only male citizens were allowed to vote under the New York constitution, but Miss Anthony silenced him by quoting the Fourteenth Amendment: "All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or

*This has generally been referred to as a barber shop, but Mr. Frank Anthony Mosher, Miss Anthony's nephew, has identified the place as a shoe shop, and contemporary directories and maps confirm it.

enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States . . . " Daniel Warner, ward supervisor, had meanwhile arrived, and after his jovial query, "How are you going to get around that?" the uncertain inspectors hesitatingly registered the names of Susan B. and Mary S. Anthony and Hannah Anthony Mosher. Within fifteen minutes a half dozen ladies from the neighborhood had enrolled their names, and, as the news spread, women in other parts of the city, to the number of fifty, registered before the polls were closed.

Miss Anthony's objective was not to add a few votes to the total for one party or the other but to establish the right of women to the full privileges of citizenship. Accordingly she sought the counsel of Henry R. Selden, former judge of the New York Court of Appeals, and former lieutenant-governor of the state. After considering the matter over the weekend with his equally distinguished brother, Samuel, Henry Selden advised Miss Anthony that he believed her claim of a right to vote under the Fourteenth Amendment was valid and promised to represent her before the courts.

Thus encouraged, Susan B. Anthony rose early on November 5 and with six women of the neighborhood arrived at the polls a half hour after opening. As the women prepared to cast their ballots, an official watcher good-naturedly challenged their votes, thus compelling them to take the prescribed oath that they were citizens of the United States, qualified to cast their votes in that district. The Quakeress, Rhoda De Garmo, refusing either to swear or affirm, declared simply, "I will tell the truth." Later in the day the eight other women registered in that ward cast their ballots, but the inspectors in all other election districts in Rochester, intimidated by warnings of arrest if they accepted illegal ballots, refused to permit any women to vote. Miss Anthony, however, had assured the inspectors of the eighth ward that she would hold herself personally responsible for any fines they might incur, and apparently there was something in her indomitable will that rallied their support.

Miss Anthony was fighting for large stakes. She was determined to make the test case as embarrassing as possible for her self-constituted overlords. When, on November 18, the Deputy United States Marshall arrived with a warrant requiring her appearance before the commissioner, she requested that she be handcuffed. At the commissioner's office

she took note of the fact that the examination was occurring in the same room where in former days fugitive slaves were examined and ordered returned to their masters. When after some delay the commissioner determined to hold them for federal trial, fixing bail at \$500, Miss Anthony refused to give bail and applied for a writ of habeas corpus. At a hearing in Albany that plea was rejected and the bail raised to \$1,000, which Miss Anthony again refused to pay, but her counsel, Judge Selden, unwilling to see his client languish in jail, advanced the bail himself.

Miss Anthony took full advantage of the temporary freedom to publicize her side of the case. Not only were the arguments presented at the annual suffrage convention in Washington and on many platforms elsewhere, but an intensive campaign was organized to reach all sections of Monroe County so that no jury could be found to convict her. When, to avoid this result, the case was transferred to Canandaigua, Miss Anthony hastily delivered twenty-one speeches in Ontario County, ending at Canandaigua the evening before the court convened on June 17, 1873.

Numerous Rochesterians and citizens from more distant cities crowded the court room in Canandaigua as Miss Anthony and the fourteen other women, with Henry R. Selden and John Van Voorhis as counsel, faced trial before Federal Judge Ward Hunt. Selden's argument for the defense stressed the opportunity for a liberal interpretation of the constitutional amendments. He admitted that Miss Anthony and the other women had voted, but questioned the criminality of that act. "No greater absurdity . . . could be presented," he urged, "than that of rewarding men and punishing women, for the same act. . . . But courts are not required to so interpret laws or constitutions as to produce either absurdity or injustice." Reviewing the arguments for women's fitness and right to vote, he concluded: "No injustice can be greater than to deny any class of citizens not guilty of a crime all share in the political powers of a State."

Whether or not the jury was impressed by these arguments, they were given no chance to say. Upon the close of the district attorney's answering argument, Judge Hunt, without leaving the bench, produced and read his previously written decision. The franchise was a privilege, not a right, he held, and its regulation was a matter of state regulation, not federal. Selden immediately protested that if such was the law, the

present court, a federal authority, had no right to try the case. Disregarding this contention, Judge Hunt instructed the jury to bring in a verdict of guilty. "That," cried Selden, "is a direction no court has power to make in a criminal case." Checked in this procedure, the judge summarily discharged the jury.

But when the judge, before pronouncing sentence himself, put the formal question, "Has the prisoner anything to say?" he found that Susan B. Anthony could not so easily be silenced. From the bitterness in her heart she poured forth her denunciation of this final refusal of even the basic right to judgment by a jury of her peers. In vain the judge sputtered, "The Court cannot listen," "The prisoner must sit down," "The Court orders the prisoner to sit down." Miss Anthony continued until she had expressed what she called "this one and only poor privilege of protest against this high-handed outrage upon my citizen's rights." When she had finished and the discomfited judge sentenced her to pay a fine of \$100 and costs, Miss Anthony refused, declaring her readiness to go to jail instead. But Judge Hunt, realizing that imprisonment would give her an opportunity to appeal, said that imprisonment would not start until the fine was paid, and thus the sentence remained unfulfilled until her death.

But the judge's action in taking the case from the jury provided an effective argument for the woman's rights cause. Indignation meetings crowded the mayor's office in Rochester, and denunciations of the judge's action appeared in papers throughout the country. When the three election inspectors were likewise fined and eventually imprisoned, popular support assisted Miss Anthony's plea for a pardon by the President. The women of the eighth ward kept the prisoners supplied with food and other conveniences until the pardon arrived, and in October a Women's Taxpayers Association was formed in the city, the first local organization for the defense of the rights of women. Nevertheless, when Miss Anthony attempted again in November, 1873, to cast her ballot, the local officials were compelled to reject it. She had remained at home most of the year caring for her oldest sister, Guelma McLean, and before that trying year ended she was forced to help lay to rest three of her staunch friends in Rochester—Mrs. Mary Curtis, Mrs. Rhoda De Garmo, and her own sister, Guelma.

Rochester saw little of Miss Anthony during the mid-seventies. However, on a brief visit in April, 1874, she assisted at the organiza-

tion of a local Women's Temperance Union, and eighteen months later she addressed a large crowd in Corinthian Hall on the bristly topic, "Social Purity." In 1877, after the death of her sister, Mrs. Hannah Mosher, in Kansas, she brought her niece, Louise, back to Rochester, which now became more definitely the family headquarters.

On July 19, 1878, Rochester was the scene of an interesting historical celebration. The thirtieth anniversary of the first Woman's Suffrage Convention was commemorated at the Unitarian Church, re-erected several years before across the street from the old site. Many of those active in the original convention were again present. Mrs. Amy Post, seventy-seven, took part, as did Mrs. Stanton, Frederick Douglass, and Lucretia Mott, now eighty-six. Mary S. Anthony, among other younger delegates of the earlier convention, assisted by new workers in the cause, carried the main burden of arrangements, with Susan B. Anthony as the directing genius. The respectful notices printed in local papers demonstrated the great strides made by the woman's rights movement during the intervening years. Victory at the polls would still have to await the development of a favorable public opinion, but signs of the new day were already evident.

Miss Anthony was at home during the Christmas holiday season in 1879 — for the first time in several years — and although the national convention called her away early in January, she hastened back as soon as possible. Her aged mother, failing rapidly, died on April 3 at the ripe age of eighty-seven years. Shortly after the funeral, Miss Anthony again set forth in an effort to catch up with her schedule of speeches, leaving two nieces, Louise Mosher and Lucy Anthony, with Mary in Rochester. A long-contemplated plan for the compilation of a history of the woman suffrage movement, when finally launched in 1881, required her presence in New York or at the New Jersey home of Mrs. Stanton for much of the next two years. Yet she did return to Rochester in October, 1881, long enough to cooperate with Miss Clara Barton in founding a local Red Cross chapter, the second in the country.

Several extended campaigns, a trip to Europe, work on the third volume of the "History," and the perennial conventions kept Miss Anthony busily engaged throughout the early eighties, rarely permitting a visit to Rochester.

The Last Twenty Years

The last two decades of Miss Anthony's career brought honor and achievements in Rochester as in the nation at large. Reporters eagerly sought interviews at each successive visit home; old and new friends dropped in to chat; and new societies vied with each other in staging receptions for Rochester's most distinguished citizen, now proudly recognized as such. The battle for woman's rights was not yet won, far from it. But the movement was at last successfully launched, its sober significance was appreciated, and the great strategist gained prestige with each hard-won advance. In Rochester a host of women were now engaged in the slow task of establishing one by one the local rights and influences that would enable them ultimately to carry their banner to victory in the national arena. While Miss Anthony was not to see that final triumph, she was privileged to influence in Rochester, and to witness throughout the country, the attainment of the many local rights and privileges which assured women a larger place in the America of the twentieth century.

After years of service in the Rochester schools, Miss Mary Anthony finally retired in 1885. She had been appointed acting principal in 1860, insisting on and receiving a salary equal to that paid her male predecessor—the first local concession of this sort. Later she became regular principal of No. 2 School, located a block from her door, and won the respect of a wide neighborhood. With these duties laid aside, Mary was ready to take a more active part in women's affairs. The return of her old friend, Mrs. Ellen Sully Fray, to Rochester that year stirred reminiscences of the Woman's Rights Convention of 1848 which both had attended as young girls. Mrs. Fray had more recently been active in a Woman's Political Club at Toledo, and the practical values of such an organization were eagerly discussed with Mrs. Mary Hallowell and with several whose interest in the cause had a more recent origin, such as Mrs. L. C. Smith who in the seventies had been president of the Woman's Taxpayers Association and Mrs. Jean Brooks Greenleaf, the wife of a former congressman. By March, 1886, the organization was formed with Mrs. Fray as president. Resolutions in favor of the appointment of women doctors as city physicians, women attendants at the police stations, women constables, women on the various institutional boards, and higher wages as well as better stand-

ards for serving girls, indicated the direction of their thinking and forecast the nature of several forthcoming campaigns.

Two other developments of significance helped to set the stage for Miss Anthony's later years in Rochester. Of first importance was the arrival in 1889 of Dr. William Channing Gannett as the new pastor of the Unitarian Church. His social welfare philosophy contributed a mellowing influence to the woman's rights agitation in Rochester and to Miss Anthony's closing years as well. At the same time the fresh enthusiasm of his young wife, Mary, injected a new vigor and inspiration into Rochester society. The "Lady from Philadelphia," as she was long familiarly known, provided the incentive and early leadership for the remarkable Woman's Ethical Club, founded in 1889, a pioneer venture in inter-church activity which soon became a vital women's forum, attracting an average of 350 women to its meetings over a period of several years. When in town, "Aunt Susan," as she was affectionately called in these later years, was a welcome speaker at these gatherings. Although the club shied away from a frank indorsement of woman's suffrage, its support for the immediate goals, such as the admission of girls to the University, proved most helpful.

Regret was expressed in the spring of 1890 over Rochester's failure to celebrate Miss Anthony's seventieth birthday. To make up for this oversight, the Woman's Political Club gained the cooperation of the older Fortnightly Ignorance Club in staging a reception, on December 15, in the rooms of the Chamber of Commerce. A distinguished gathering of more than 600 men and women passed along the receiving line in which Mrs. Greenleaf, now president of the New York State Woman's Suffrage Association as well as of the local Woman's Political Club, stood next to Miss Anthony, the Executive Secretary of the national association, with Dr. Sarah Adamson Dooley, Rochester's distinguished first woman doctor and president of the Ignorance Club on the other side. Flowers and palms and oriental rugs transformed the Chamber rooms, while Schenck's orchestra provided an agreeable accompaniment, helping to make the first local reception for Susan B. Anthony a memorable one.

Her Rochester friends rejoiced the next spring when Miss Anthony announced her intention finally to settle down and make her home with Mary on Madison Street. The Political Club raised a fund of \$250 to help refurnish the house, and all was made ready for a gala

house warming on June 11. Mrs. Greenleaf introduced the 300 guests, among them most of the fifteen ladies who had cast their vote almost twenty years before, and John Van Voorhis, their younger defender in the resulting trial. The Anthony sisters took delight in entertaining small groups at tea, and Aunt Susan was the honored guest at the annual frolic of the Ignorance Club on Manitou Beach that summer. When Mrs. Stanton was persuaded to come for a month's visit in September, thus permitting the sculptor, Adelaide Johnson, to make a bust similar to the one already completed of Miss Anthony, the latter had a special rocker constructed, sturdy and ample enough to accommodate the grand old mother of the woman's suffrage movement, now in her seventy-sixth year.

As Susan B. Anthony could not content herself with the life of a social celebrity, new projects were outlined for the Political Club. The most successful was the Women's Day at the Western New York Agricultural Society Fair. For this occasion the club erected a tent on the Fair Grounds and distributed literature at a mass meeting addressed by Miss Anthony and the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw. A suggestion, first made a few years before, that the University of Rochester should be opened to young women, was revived in earnest that fall. Each of the women's clubs named members to a joint committee, and a drive was launched for a fund of \$100,000 to induce the trustees to open the doors to women. In November Miss Anthony spoke with Rev. Gannett and Rabbi Lansberg at the joint Thanksgiving service in the Unitarian Church. But she could not stay away from the national suffrage convention the next January, nor could she decline all invitations to speak in distant cities. Nevertheless Rochester now saw her more frequently and for longer periods than in former years.

The late fall of 1892 found Miss Anthony in Rochester organizing a campaign to persuade the City Council to include a woman suffrage clause in the proposed new charter. The Woman's Political Club, now renamed the Political Equality Club and under the presidency of Mary S. Anthony, was persuaded to procure a set of enrollment books and to undertake a canvass of all wards of the city to determine who favored and who opposed woman suffrage in Rochester. After considerable effort a partial survey was completed in time for Miss Anthony's address before the Chamber of Commerce on December 12, but the Trustees of the Chamber refused to indorse the suffrage amendment

and it was never seriously considered by the Council. Though greatly disappointed, Miss Anthony found some consolation in her appointment to the Board of the State Industrial School, located in Rochester, and began to lay plans for the Woman's Congress at the Columbian Exposition scheduled to open at Chicago the next spring. On February 15, the Political Equality Club was entertained at Mrs. Gannett's Sibley Place home, the occasion being Aunt Susan's seventy-third birthday, the first of a long succession to be celebrated by women's clubs of Rochester.

Before Miss Anthony left for Chicago (where frequent addresses before vast audiences won her recognition as America's most distinguished woman and one of its ablest orators) a significant development occurred in Rochester. Spurred by the example of several large cities, the Ignorance Club had invited the other women's clubs to meet on April 6, 1893, to form an alliance of women's clubs in Rochester. A few days before the meeting, Miss Anthony while reading her local paper became indignant at a report of the experience of a young woman who had fainted in a down town street the previous evening and had been carried to a police station where she was held over night for identification. The city apparently had no proper facilities for the care of its women, and Miss Anthony determined to call on neighboring Buffalo for its experience. Learning of the work of the Buffalo Women's Educational and Industrial Union, she invited Mrs. George W. Townsend, its president, to come to Rochester on April 6. Accordingly, when Dr. Dooley, president of the Ignorance Club and host of the several clubs represented at the large gathering in the Chamber of Commerce rooms, called the meeting to order, Mrs. Gannett was elected chairman and Mrs. Townsend was invited to tell of the character of the Buffalo Union. She described its establishment in 1884 on the model of an earlier Union in Boston and the rapid expansion of its program to include classes for women in physical culture, cooking, housekeeping, child care, nursing, and stenography, as well as a girl's employment bureau, a lecture and entertainment program, a working girls' lounge and lunch room and a legal protection department. The account of the work of 200 committee members, representing a membership of 1,000 women, and of the development of a headquarters plant valued at \$45,000 proved so inspiring that the plan for a social federation was forgotten. Dr. Dooley moved, seconded by Miss Anthony, that the

chairman appoint a committee to bring in a plan for the organization of a Woman's Educational and Industrial Union. Thus Rochester, through the timely initiative of Miss Anthony, prepared to organize the seventeenth such union in the country, an organization which was destined to become the most vital center of women's activities during Rochester's next quarter century.

Miss Anthony was meanwhile busily absorbed in the broader struggle for equal suffrage. After her triumphs at the World's Fair, she returned to plunge eagerly into the campaign for the inclusion of a woman's rights clause in the proposed new constitution for New York State. Judge Danforth spoke at the Rochester rally with which she launched a lecture tour that included visits to all the sixty counties in the state. Her cohorts, led by Mrs. Greenleaf, gathered a total of over 600,000 petitions but failed of their goal. Miss Anthony, who meanwhile was called west to cooperate in similar campaigns in Kansas and Colorado, could rejoice at least over the victory in the latter state.

Miss Anthony returned to Rochester in time for a New Year's party in 1895 which gathered the Gannetts, the Greenleafs, the Sanfords, Mrs. Hallowell, and Mrs. Willis, around Mary's festive table. The plan to settle down was going awry, for trips to Georgia, to California, and campaigns in many intervening states filled the year until a collapse in Ohio — the first in her long career — brought her back to recuperate for several months in Rochester. Now for the first time she hired a regular secretary, Mrs. Emma B. Sweet, on whose shoulders fell many of the details connected with her duties as president of the National Suffrage Association, which position she held from 1892 until 1900. Plans for the writing of her biography were interrupted by a third visit to California, but November found Miss Anthony back in Rochester for the meetings of the state suffrage convention. Then, after additional trips to New England and New York City, she returned for a year at home.

February 15, 1897, was the occasion for a grand birthday ball. Sixteen women's clubs assembled over 2,000 people at Powers Hall in honor of Miss Anthony's seventy-seventh birthday. Not even the great throng that had overflowed the banner meeting of the Ethical Club a few years before to hear Mrs. Mary Jane Holmes, the local novelist who vied with E. P. Roe as America's most popular writer, could rival this demonstration. The task of answering the 900 letters of greeting

received from all parts of the world absorbed many patient hours during the next three months.

But the task to which this year was especially dedicated was the long-contemplated biography. Mrs. Ida H. Harper had arrived to undertake the work, and the files had been set in order in the spacious attic work rooms at the Anthony home. There some 20,000 letters were sorted and read. The annual scrap books, compiled systematically since 1850, and, most valuable of all, Miss Anthony's journals, kept faithfully since the age of seventeen, provided a rich mine of information. Miss Anthony stood by more constantly than was her custom and, with her sister, supplied much personal assistance in weaving the intricate story together. Within the course of a year Mrs. Harper, aided by three stenographers, completed the first draft of two volumes which stand today as the most adequate record of this notable career. (The third volume that completes the biography was written shortly after Miss Anthony's death.)

Of course Susan B. Anthony could not sit quietly in Rochester for a whole year. On November 11, 1897, when starting off for a swing around the West, she stopped on her way to the station to attend the golden wedding reception of Dr. and Mrs. Edward Mott Moore. The good doctor's conclusion, some forty years before, that Miss Anthony's life "is a very good one," had been borne out. Despite the ardors of constant travel, often using primitive conveyances, dependent on uncertain accommodations, Miss Anthony still enjoyed remarkably good health. Her personal habits included an early morning cold sponge bath, followed by a brisk rub, a morning and evening walk and if possible an afternoon nap. She preferred to rise at six or seven and to retire at nine or ten. She traveled at night when convenient. She retained a good appetite, preferred simple foods, and shunned salads as well as all desserts except fruit. Plenty of hard work, employment for mind and body, was her cardinal principle. Even in her later years she did not fail to seize occasional opportunities to display her culinary arts, and use of the homely broom was never beneath her dignity.

Back in Rochester to read proof in the spring of 1898, Miss Anthony could not resist the temptation to attend a state teachers convention which assembled here in July. Disgusted by the passivity of the women, she started a minor panic by an interview in which their lack

of spirit was compared with that regarded as proper fifty years before. She attended Dr. Gannett's sermons fairly regularly at this time, but her good friend never knew when a portion of his remarks would prompt enthusiastic praise or condemnation for some slight to women's rights. On December 2, 1898, she mourned to read of the burning of Corinthian Hall, "the dear old hall in which in times past so many great men and women presented their highest thoughts to Rochester's best people." Yet, despite the passing of old friends and old landmarks, her thoughts were generally of the future. Thus, toward the end of that month, she took the initiative in sending out invitations to seventy-three local woman's societies inviting their leaders to join in a Rochester Council of Women, and on December 31 she served as chairman of the meeting at which the Council, later to become the Rochester Federation of Women's Clubs, was born.

A trip to Europe the next year (during which Miss Anthony was joined briefly while in London by a party of her Rochester friends, including sister Mary) was cut to three months, enabling her to return for the campaign which finally placed Mrs. Montgomery on the Rochester School Board. After a joyous Christmas dinner with Mary and the Gannetts—an annual delight at this period—Miss Anthony prepared an address to be delivered before the national convention of the Bricklayers and Masons International Union which assembled in Rochester that January. Her appeal for organized labor's support was a relatively new but effective tactic, and the response on this occasion was more enthusiastic than she had ever before received from a Rochester audience. Mrs. Harper arrived in April to begin work on volume four of the "History," but that task did not prevent trips to Kansas and Wyoming during the summer.

Returning to Rochester on September 4, Miss Anthony learned that the long drawn out campaign to open the University to women had again reached an impasse. The University had reduced the sum demanded to \$50,000, but the joint committee still lacked \$8,000 and had but one day left if girls were to be admitted that year. To Susan B. Anthony this did not appear a hopeless task. Calling a carriage, she began a day of resolute solicitation. Sister Mary agreed to contribute the \$2,000 she had planned to leave the University in her will, and from other sources Aunt Susan gathered pledges of another \$4,000. Finally, when but \$2,000 short, she took the list of subscriptions to the

trustees, pledging her life insurance as a guarantee of her note for the remainder. The victory was won; girls entered classes that fall, but Miss Anthony had practically lost her voice as a result of the day's frantic canvass and remained under her doctor's care for over a month. When at last able to leave the house, she enjoyed a drive to the campus, but a week later, attending the inauguration of Dr. Rush Rhees as president, she was disappointed over the absence of any mention of women in the university. Yet the girls were arriving, and a few months later Miss Anthony was invited to attend their first reception.

Wide ranging campaigns again kept Miss Anthony occupied during much of 1902, but Rochester saw more of her the next year. Her eighty-third birthday was spent at home, prompting over 200 friends to brave a heavy snow storm in order to pay their respects. Sister Mary's seventy-sixth birthday was celebrated this year, April 2, by the Political Equality Club, whose presidency she now resigned after eleven years of faithful service. Aunt Susan was again pouring over her papers, with the aid of Mrs. Harper, sorting out those she wished to present to the Library of Congress; unfortunately her sense of modesty excluded from this list the private diaries which would have made this collection an unrivalled storehouse for the historian.

The following winter proved to be a severe one, even for Rochester, and at one point Miss Anthony's diary notes: "Eleven Sundays since I have been able to go to church. . . . I have attended only four of the eleven lectures given by the Political Equality Club." Her friends must have been surprised when they learned that both sisters planned a trip to Europe that spring. A grand send-off was arranged at the Rochester station on May 17, and a crowd gathered again on August 23 to celebrate their safe return. The pleasure of the sisters on the latter date was tempered by concern for their brother Daniel in Kansas who finally passed away that November.

New Year's calls on Mrs. Greenleaf and other old friends of equal suffrage opened 1905 for the Anthony sisters. Aunt Susan's eighty-fifth birthday was celebrated by women from coast to coast—at Rochester by a reception at the Gannetts. Miss Anthony finally got around to a trip to Florida that winter, while a constitutional struggle in Oregon drew her across the continent again in June. She returned to Rochester late in August, ready to address a state suffrage convention at Powers Hotel in October. Christmas was again enjoyed with

the Gannetts, and a birthday celebration was staged for her by Miss Kate Gleason, one of America's pioneer women industrialists. The date had been advanced in order to permit Miss Anthony to attend the National Suffrage Convention in Baltimore, and although she caught a severe cold at the Gleason reception, Miss Anthony refused to cancel her plans. She attended and responded to an ovation at the convention, proceeded to Washington for another friendly celebration of her birthday, and then hastened back to her bed in Rochester.

The end came quietly on March 13, 1906. For the first time in Rochester's history, the flags fluttered at half mast and the Court House bell tolled the passing of a woman. Ten thousand people plodded through a deep snow to do her honor during the funeral held in the spacious Central Presbyterian Church. Rev. Gannett's prayer of thanks, and expressions of appreciation by William Lloyd Garrison, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Mrs. R. Jerome Jeffrey, and Miss Anna Howard Shaw, voiced the sentiments of a host of sorrowing friends.

Mary, left alone with her nieces, had one important commission to perform. She had promised her sister to fill the scheduled engagements in the Oregon campaign that summer. True to her word, she made the long trip across the continent—a Miss Anthony in name and determination, if not quite equal to her sister in reputation and oratorical ability. With that job completed, Mary hastened back to Rochester in time to protest the payment of her taxes, just as she had done on the grounds of non-representation during each of the previous ten years. Then, as though realizing that the younger women she and her sister had helped to arouse and train would have to finish the struggle for woman's rights, Mary followed her sister to Mount Hope in February, 1907.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

The official biography prepared in large part under the supervision of Miss Anthony by Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, already discussed above, provides the greatest volume of detail on this significant career. Mrs. Rheta Louise Door's *Susan B. Anthony, The Woman Who Changed the Mind of a Nation* (New York, 1928) condenses the story and takes advantage of a later perspective. For our purpose a great quantity of newspaper and scrapbook material deposited over the years in the Rochester Historical Society by devoted friends of Miss Anthony amplifies the record of her career in this city. Of particular value on a crucial episode is the pamphlet *An Account of the Proceedings on the Trial of Susan B. Anthony on the Charge of Illegal Voting* (Rochester, 1874). The minute books of several local woman's societies in whose affairs she was active, notably the Woman's Political Club, later the Political Equality Club, and the Local Woman's Council, later the Rochester Federation of Women's Clubs, are rich in detail for the later years of Miss Anthony's life.

